[25]

787 #756 It is not only the shamans' dreams which have the power of prediction among these Indians. Dreams of the Indians in general, whatever their social or economic position, are revelations of the future to which the others religiously pay attention. The Indians believe in these dreams with the same fervor with which they fear the dead and comply with every ceremony related to them. One may say without fear of error that the Guajiro believes that the individual, when he dreams, is in a superior position to when he is living his everyday waking life. His spirit has become detached from his body; it is free to roam, and for this reason it can get into communication with those other spirits which are able to transmit future events.

The great value of the shaman's dreams stems from the fact that they are commensurate not only with his personal spirit but also with his protector spirit which uses him as a medium to foretell the future and communicate the events that will develop in a future time, showing the shaman at the same time what means to employ to overcome those possible evil developments already revealed to him in his dreams.

● 776 #756 787 Protector spirits of the shamans. Every shaman has a set number of spirits that assist him in his magic practices and whose role is to counsel him while he is carrying out the functions of his office. For example, they tell him: "Suck there; give him such a herb; and as payment for my advice make me a gift of such-and-such value without loss of time." This matter of a gift, as we have already seen, is important because if it is not strictly complied with, the spirit leaves the shaman and will not come to his aid again. It is very difficult for him to regain its favor so that it will return and collaborate with him. If, however, the gift is made in full compliance with the spirit's wishes, it gives immediate and, in many cases, efficacious assistance with great pleasure. Besides all this, when the shaman has enemies he also receives advice from his spirits who tell him: " 'Shamanize' a great deal and every day because you have enemies and are in danger. Do it frequently so that the evil may disappear just as the rains do in summer."

Some shamans have as many as seven such spirits, and each one is called by a special canticle. Mareiwa (18), for example,

18. This spirit, considered as the

[25 cont.]

universal god of the Guajiro Indians is none other than the protector divinity of rainfall and the propitiator of the harvests.

is invoked by a singular chant known by the name of fumayule, and wanurú, the spirit of sickness and of death by that of jirairay. The latter is the spirit that demands [26] offerings, the one that interposes himself in cases of sickness, impeding their cure, for it never wants to lose its hold on the sick person's soul it has imprisoned, so causing the illness. It is also the one which discusses with the shaman's protector spirits and the shaman himself the handing back of the patient's soul so that he can recover his lost health. We deem it necesary to make it clear that all the spirits of the dead are named wanurú; for this reason their number is immense. The only difference that we have been able to establish between the wanurú and the shaman's protector spirits lies, in our opinion, in the fact that the latter are the spirits of shamans who have died but who wish to keep on carrying out their functions through others after death. Our statement is confirmed by Profesor Métraux, who, quoting Tessman, affirms: "The Campa and Amahuaca medicine men claim to receive their knowledge from some shaman, living or dead. Either the soul makes the advances and visits its pupil in a dream, or the novice, intoxicated with ayahuasca, sends his other self among the spirits to receive teaching." (19) [Cited in French.]

19. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 203.

And further along he states: "The auxiliary spirits can be of different kinds. Among the Taulipáng and the Roucouyenne [Rucuyen]" -- according to Koch Grünberg -- "they are the souls of former shamans, or spirits of plants or animals." And later: "The distinction between the two types of Barasana shamans is mainly based on the different origin of the spirits from which they derive their power. The shamans called hari are possessed by hope, ... which are either spirits of nature or souls of dead

2: Pineda Giraldo--29 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

[26 cont.]

colleagues. On the other hand, the arootiawaraare are mediums chosen by the souls of ancestors and their main function is to serve as intermediaries between the world of the living and that of the dead," according to Colbacchini. (20) [Cited in French.]

20. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 211.

Hubert and Mauss, speaking of magic revelations by the dead among Australian tribes, state as follows: "The simplest manner in which the authors describe this revelation consists in stating that the parents' spirits are those that give magic power to their children. The precision is even greater when the author expressly states, as does Howitt, with respect to the Kulin on the Wimmera River that only young men who have seen their mother's spirit seated on her grave are capable of becoming wizards." (21) And specifically in one of the stories narrated

21. Hubert and Mauss. Op. cit.

to our colleague Chaves in La Guajira with relation to the shaman Umaralé, [27] we find the following statement: "Every afternoon Umaralé set out to walk to the cemetery to visit the grave of his aunt and to light fires to her memory -- she having been a very wise shaman -- but on one occasion he had a clear vision of his aunt for whom he was grieving, and she said to him: "Go, my son, to the region of Jarara, take my cloak and my maraca, visit the sick and "shamanize" them, and only then will you find the true path." (22)

22. Chaves, Micfades. Mitos, leyendas, etc. [Myths, Legends, etc.], p. 323.

With respect to the number of each shaman's protector spirits, we can state that Josefina, one of our personal informants, had eight, three male and the rest female. The names by which these spirits were known were the following: Ienawa,

[27 cont.]
nurjirawa, muchirawai, males; and anapaura, urfwatana, warfkë-narü, walwüna, and parürjuna, females.

The common spirit of sickness and death, wanurü, in its malignant sense, can be possessed by a shaman, but its possession implies danger as because of it the shaman can become insane, foolish, or paralytic. It is such an aggressive, haughty, and hateful spirit that, when it turns against a shaman, does so so vindictively that he is compelled to ask all the other spirits to aid him against the jiraisay or wanurü.

But shamans do not know the origin of the spirits in the majority of cases. They do not know from where they come, only that they come from an unknown place, deemed like arüjuna (civilization). They are wanurü that assist them in the struggle against sickness, which is also called wanurü. The personal spirit of the shaman, as we have said, does not intervene directly in the healing. It is those other spirits, the ones that have taken possession of him ever since he was initiated into the magic arts, which do so. His personal spirit does not have a special name, nor does the personal spirit of any of the Indians. Only on the shaman's death does his spirit take the common name wanurü and a special one if he has been a very outstanding curer.

In general terms, two other classes of spirits exist: that of the shaman himself, of which we have already spoken, and that of the diviner. These two spirits, however, can be absorbed by one person, but this absorption requires two special preparations, one for each activity. The more common procedure is for the shaman to be a diviner also, as this will help him considerably in carrying out his functions, for, on being [28] called to accomplish a cure, he can by means of his prophetic art consult with the firebrand or the tobacco (Cf. "Magic and Medicine") and find out if the sick person in question will recover. In accordance with the results of his findings, he will or will not try to cure him.

Referring to prophecy, Ulroochea in his introduction to Celedón's Guajiro Grammar relates -- we do not know on what authority -- the statement of Ramón de la Rosa when the latter states that the Indians divine by means of tobacco, and says:

[28 cont.]

"Shamans still augur by the direction of smoke, not by smoking tobacco as de la Rosa tells us, but by lighting a small faggot of firewood, tinder, or cotton." (23) But neither the one nor the

23. Celedón, Rafael. Gramática, Catecismo i Vocabulario de la lengua guajira. Introduccion. [Grammar, Catechism, and Vocabulary of the Guajiro Language. Introduction], p. 25.

other is totally mistaken since, as we have already seen and will note again later, the two systems, divination by means of the firebrand or by tobacco, are actually employed in La Guajira.

With respect to the relations between the shaman and his protector spirits in general, Métraux affirms: "The relations between the shaman and his familiar spirit have been fully analyzed by Ramos: 'Every piaye claims to have a genie, or rather a familiar demon, with which he has a close relationship, and by its intervention he carries out his wishes. This supposed genie is not always so submissive that it does not sometimes get away when it thinks it opportune, escaping to accomplish all the evil it can against the Indians, after which it will return to its abode. The main use of this genie is to assist the piayes either to chase out demons or to carry out some revenge, according to their will, and to kill whatever Indians they see fit, as their power extends equally to heal illnesses or to bring them on those on whom they wish to take revenge.'" (24) [Cited in French.]

24. Métraux. Op. cit., I, 212.

Taboos of the shamans. Shamans are obliged to observe most strictly a series of taboos, related chiefly to sex, to nutrition in general, and to objects they receive in payment for curing sick persons or animals. We shall describe each one of these separately.

[28 cont.]

K756 834 833 Referring to the sexual aspect, we have the following facts: 1) a woman of licentious habits can never get to exercise the office of shaman; the spirit would never take up residence within her; 2) the unmarried woman who is initiated into the profession may have sexual relations only when she marries in accordance with established rites, but with certain limitations. [29] She may cohabit with her husband, and exclusively with him, in spite of the phrases used by the spirit at the time of initiation, "You may not sleep (cohabit) with your husband," but she must carry out the sexual act quickly and get up from the matrimonial hammock as soon as it is finished; for if not, they will see in the doorway of their habitation a shadow, in appearance like a civilizado, who will speak into her ear saying: "I do not like your sleeping with your husband because you do not belong to him. You are mine, you are my loved one." The woman therefore must perform coitus as hurriedly as if she were committing a crime.

K756 842 When a woman shaman marries, her spirit advises her as follows: "So that you may not have children, since you are always with your husband in spite of my prohibition, put skeins of wool on your wrists and on your ankles and around your waist like a sirapo [loincloth], and tie a piece of onion to the wool." The Indian woman who related this said that she had obeyed the spirit's instructions in every detail, and she had never had any more children. The spirit demanded a gold necklace from her as recompense for its counsel.

K756 834 ●776 787 Another female shaman with whom we had the opportunity to converse recounted the following to us: When she married, the spirit told her that it cared for her no longer. When she inquired the cause of this, the spirit replied that it was due to the fact that after having been with her husband, she had a smell of male goat, an odor which it did not like. The shaman explained to the spirit that she had married because her parents had sold her. The spirit was quite angered with her and had no wish to return to inspire her; it did not want her to marry because she belonged to it and not to anyone else. Finally it agreed to the formula that she might cohabit with her husband but must not linger over the sexual act.

[29 cont.]

*756 When the woman becomes pregnant, the spirit puts up with
633 the situation without getting angry, but it does not show any such
834 patience if she delays a length of time in the sexual act with her husband, or if she sleeps by his side throughout the night.

The female shaman's obligation, in the sexual aspect, goes to the length of forcing her to be but a passive entity during coitus, not permitting her body the slightest motion and also not permitting any endearments from her husband before the sexual
[787] act. When these dispositions are disobeyed, the shaman finds herself suffering during the night from especially terrifying and horrible dreams which fill her with fears and anxieties.

*756 The man who marries a shaman gets to understand his
693 wife's situation, and for this reason he is prudent in his actions: He does not demand anything but the strictly indispensable, and he is in accord with her in all matters related to her special state. [30]

*756 But in spite of all these prohibitions, the female shaman
●776 who becomes pregnant receives aid from the spirit at the time
844 of giving birth. This assistance consists of an easy delivery of her baby and of counsel her spirit gives her on the simplest form of giving birth, the remedies she should take, etc.

*756 The shaman must not perform ceremonial acts of curing
841 when she is in her menstrual period because the patient will be-
843 come worse instead of improving. However, pregnancy does not present any obstacle to her activities, and she may accomplish cures during the entire period of gestation.

*756 In the case of a male shaman, the spirit permits him to be
834 with his wife, but for a very short time; he is also allowed, as
[595] are the rest of the Guajiro, to have several wives.

In summary, women shamans must cohabit exclusively with their husbands, avoiding all endearments, movements, the prolongation of coitus, and pregnancy. They may not exercise their functions during their menstrual periods. The male shaman also must be moderate in the sexual aspect and limit himself to his wife, or wives, as the case may be.

*756 The food taboo is limited to prohibiting the shaman from
262 eating the flesh of such animals as he has received in payment

[31 cont.]

753 755 *756 776 If the shaman's illness and the announcement of his death are provoked by the displeasure of his protector spirit, there generally is no possibility of calling in another shaman to carry out the ceremonies of curing. The illness of the shaman more than being his alone is an illness of the protector spirit; it is thus different from all other illnesses known to the natives. The shaman himself cannot help; he does not know how to apply the remedies he may have used in similar cases. He only, and this on few occasions, applies hot water to his chest. At other times the spirit may have pity on him and may come and recommend some special remedy to him, indicating at the same time where he can obtain it. The sick shaman then takes the remedy, and his sickness is immediately alleviated.

*756 766 On the death of a shaman it is obligatory to hold a wake for at least three consecutive days, because the attacks which shamans have ("states of ecstasy") are so frequent and on occasion prolonged for a considerable time, that there is the possibility that he may not be really dead. The natives, then, do not wish to give a shaman burial until they are convinced of his death. There is also the belief that when such persons die they do not follow the same cycle as other mortals, since their bodies do not become hard and stiff but remain soft and lax, as if they were only sleeping. At the conclusion of these three obligatory days of the wake, they carry him away for burial. They wash the body and fasten his shroud as they do for others. But his crown, his maraca, and all his clothes are first broken and torn and later buried in a special place in the woods, or are thrown away in a lonely place. They must not place these objects with him in his grave [32] because the spirit of the dead shaman would return, very angry with the persons who had done such a thing, and would punish their disrespect in some form or another.

*756 775 787 The dead shaman's spirit wanders everywhere like all other spirits, it goes to the place where his body lived, to places well known to it, but it is always accompanied by its protector spirit, from which it will never become separated. Both the protector spirit and its protege may descend on a new shaman in order to assist him. This is probably the explanation of the possession of

[53 cont.]

[Lectures given at the National Ethnological Institute]. Bogotá, 1942.

the two groups at some period of their history, — we cannot say if before or after the Conquest, is based on the presence of certain material cultural techniques of the Arwako [Arhuaco] Indians in the Guajiro group.

Let us now analyze carefully and separately each one of these factors:

Medicine practiced by the shaman. In chapter II of this study, we referred to the shaman's curative methods which are effected through their magic communication with the spirits. These spirits supply the instructions required for the ceremonies and processes that are to be practiced to effect the cures of illnesses caused by the wanurú which have a sick person in their power. We again refer the reader then to chapter II.

Medicine by divination. Before entering fully into this subject, we feel obliged to clarify somewhat the diviner's position in La Guajira and to learn something more, if only superficially, of the processes of divination.

There are certain men and women capable of seeing secret events that have occurred or foreseeing those that will occur. For this they employ different objects; some use a machete (an item of acculturation), and by closely studying its edge they divine, for example, what has happened at the site of a robbery and where the stolen objects will be found. Others make use of burning tobacco and others, finally, of a burning firebrand.

In this aspect of divination the world of the spirits plays as great a role as it does in general in all the themes of magic, since the chain of events in the case of the divination of a robbery, for example, is that the spirit of the diviner disengages itself from his body and goes in search of the lost articles, following the track of the thief until it finds the hiding place and consequently the stolen goods, returning then to the body of the diviner to communicate the result to him so that he can, on his part, transmit the information to the party who has come to consult him. [54]

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P756

[74 cont.]

he is the witch and curer of the tribe, as we learn from the Mother Superior's writings, a wizard whose supernatural powers place him at the peak of the social pyramid. This jaibaná is none other than an individual who has by himself and for himself absorbed the power of the spirits -- of the dead -- and who by this is able to carry out the same functions as they are capable of, that is, he can do evil or good as the fancy takes him. For this reason "when some illness suddenly attacks the Indians they say they are bewitched, and they point to the person from whom they have received the injury. They dream persistently of a certain jaibaná and that he observes them with a grim, severe look or that he lies in ambush for them armed with spears or guns, and from this they assume that the doctor of whom they dream is he who has bewitched them." (53) In this case it is

53. Ibid., p. 151.

therefore the jaibaná, ("collection of sicknesses," according to the etymology) who, taking advantage of his power both to absorb and dominate the spirits, goes about among the Indians causing them harm and also [75] curing them when sick people go to him in search of help. Again we meet with this duality which we have already pointed out regarding the spirits of the dead (friends -- enemies) and which we showed in the previous chapter, "Sickness and Medicine," in regard to spirits in general, as well as animals.

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775

Among the Chibcha Colombian Indians of the savannas of Cundinamarca, we also find a linguistic and conceptual correspondence between devil and death. In our opinion, among primitives there does not exist, or did not exist among the American aborigines before the Conquest, the concept of devil as such, but only of a spirit of evil which, although it may possess some similarity to the devil of our Catholic religion differs in many aspects from it. From all that we have been able to observe, the idea of the devil among the American primitives, introduced no doubt after the Conquest by Catholic missionaries, corresponds more to an entity, spiritual it is true and capable of

[78 cont.]

doing good or evil, but always a physical evil, not a spiritual one as done by the devil as conceived in the Catholic religion. Also, according to our observations, this same spirit of the primitives is none other than the spirit of the dead, of their ancestors, inhabitants of the "other world," an unreal world that is not directly tangible, or at least not completely so, to the senses but real in the conception, in the faith and beliefs of the primitives. This last characteristic of the American aborigines' demonic spirits, confused with the dead, separates them formally and conceptually from the idea of the devil as understood in Catholicism.

Returning to the Chibcha tribe of the savannas, we find that one of the words that their dialect uses to describe a dead person is guajaia (we retain the author's spelling), and the word for "devil" is guaioque. We can attempt to split up the second word in the following way: guaia, que. This last particle that we have split off has the sense of "strong," "vigorous." Thus, by splitting up guaioque -- translated as "devil" by the different writers on the Chibcha language of Cundinamarca -- would really have the meaning of "powerful dead one." (54) We could

54. The linguistic notes have been taken from two works: El idioma Chibcha o aborigen de Cundinamarca [The Chibcha or Aboriginal Language of Cundinamarca] by J. Acosta Ortegón and Gramática, Vocabulario, Catecismo i Confesionario de la lengua Chibcha [Grammar, Vocabulary, Catechism, and Confessional of the Chibcha Language] by Ezequiel Uricoechea.

include many other quotations to corroborate our statement, but, as we have mentioned, we reserve [76] these for a separate work. We only wish to expound our general theory for the better understanding of this study. It is sufficient then for us once again to affirm that death, sickness, spirit (devil), and even medicine man are all concepts that belong to one and the same ideological circle, totally imbued with the spiritualistic content of magic related to the soul of the dead.

[104 cont.]

226 751 [177 184] Never again during our visit did we come across this type of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not belong to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known, are extremely superstitious.

*756 778 Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans. They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have. One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who [776] came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants, some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young shamans and the other for old ones.

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro [824] morõno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with some of the former, are for the younger.

778 788 [325] [532] [173] The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position, and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta.

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurú").

536 [140 cont.]
776 moving along the ground. Headed by their leader they all continue to sing the song of the serpent, saying more or less the
[539] following: "I am the snake. I drag myself along the ground. I do harm to no one. But he who dares to step on me because I am on the ground gets his punishment. I bite him and wound him. At times I kill him. He has to stay in bed and suffer for a long time as a punishment for having trodden on me and for thinking that I am helpless because I drag myself along the ground...." This song is repeated several times. [141]

IX

Mareiwa and Wanurú

or

Notions of Good and Evil

771 Through all the preceding chapters we have tried to explain clearly what constitutes the magic life of the Guajiro, which is almost the same as saying his spiritual life, and in passing we have mentioned the presence and activities of beings with higher powers than ordinary mortals, able to do good or evil according to which being intervenes in each particular case. We have thus touched on two fundamental ideas: good and evil.

● 776 Our interest is now concentrated in trying to elucidate the
177 quality of these spirits, or supernatural beings. These can be very seriously confused owing particularly to the influence of acculturation and more specifically to the pressure exerted by missionaries in their proseltyzing function. So great is the misapplication of terms and concepts in this world of ideas that we might call the religious, that even the Guajiro mythology has been transformed by the use of terms which have a pejorative and
773 degrading effect on the Guajiro people (68).
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68. This statement is based on the legend which we obtained orally from

[141 cont.]

an Indian of the Nazaret locality relating to Mareiwa and the origin of humanity, in which are presented the beginnings of the different groups of mankind: natives and foreigners. The legend states that Mareiwa created mankind and gathered them together, inviting them to a banquet. Those who complied with the forms of social etiquette (shaking hands respectfully, sitting in the right place, behaving with composure, eating according to civilized rules, using knives and forks, washing hands, etc., were turned into arʃuna ("white," civilizado); those who misbehaved, who did not comply with these rituals of social etiquette, that is, those who showed they were Indians, were from that time claimed as wayú ("Indians"). As can be seen, the Indian believes himself superior [to the] to the White because of these details of social etiquette, of which he is partially or totally ignorant. [142]

The problem arises from the fact that those two notions of good and evil, represented by two classes of spirits, benign and malignant, have been changed for the Catholic or general Christian concepts of God and devil, concepts which the native, coming more and more in contact with the Christian type of civilization has gradually come to accept in the process of his conversion to new ideas.

This affirmation is corroborated by various citations, taken from the writings of Catholic or Protestant missionaries as well as from those of travelers or of ethnologists who have been involved in the same confusion. To demonstrate the point we transcribe several such cases.

Father de Carcagente referring to the church at Manaure says: "The Indians say to God 'Have pity upon us.' They know

[142 cont.]

what God can do for them," phrases which the Guajiro translates in this way: "Nuchiinsaca guayú mumuin Maléigua "Pumáinja guayú." Je natéjain au tu nñinjecta nau Maléigua." (69)

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69. Carcagente. Guía Goajiro [Guajiro Guide], pp. 18-19. The italics are ours.

The Protestant missionaries, on their part, published in Guajiro and in Spanish a version of the Gospel of Saint Mark throughout which the word "God" is represented in Guajiro by the word "Mareiwa" (70).

70. Miñuke: Cf. Bibliography.

Father José Agustín de Barranquilla, a Capuchin missionary who traveled widely through the greater part of Guajiro territory on an evangelistic mission and collected his impressions in a book, when speaking of the qualities and moral defects of the Guajiro, uses the following terms: "He is monotheist, that is, he believes in only one Supreme Being called Mareigua (God) ... he has something similar to the devil which he calls Yaruji or Yoluji..." (71)

71. Barranquilla. Así es la Guajira [This is La Guajira], II, 57.

And further along he adds: "The Guajiro is not like other Indians, idolatrous, because vestiges have never been found among all the Guajiro antiquities either of idols that they worshiped in times past or traditions that show at any time their connection with idolatry, except for certain insignificant talismans of a domestic and family nature which they considered could render them service. They never practiced any cult rendering homage to the sun, moon, or any other visible thing. The Guajiro attributes everything good that occurs in this world to Merigua (God). Mareigua is always good, never evil. He it was that created the world and all visible things. He alone. He is invisible

[142 cont.]
although he sees everything.... Mareigua combines three main spirits and many subalterns ones inferior to Him. [143] Some of these spirits are masculine, some feminine.... An Indian sees that his crop is drying up for lack of water, and far from imploring Heaven for rain, he beats his drum every night and at dawn as if he expected the sound to break up the clouds, or he fires his gun with a similar hope.... Should one of his relatives become ill, he calls in the shaman so that he can with his remedies, his maracas, his tobacco or manilla spirits, and the instructions of his spirits, cure the sick man; instead of appealing to God and asking him to bring his relative back to health." (72)

72. Ibid., II, 65-67.

Jorge Isaacs, the famous Colombian novelist, in the second half of the past century, made an excursion under government authority to study La Guajira and other regions of the country, and he wrote in the report he presented: "Mareigua is the name by which the Guajiro designate God, or better said, the unbegotten one, immaterial force, master of creation." (73)

73. Isaacs. Estudio del Lenguaje Guajiro [Study of the Guajiro Language], 303.

Finally, the ethnologist Professor Hernández de Alba, as a result of his expedition to the peninsula says: "Mareigua. All that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance, life, protection, the world in which he lives, all come from Mareigua, the one and only God, always good, never evil...." (74)

74. Hernández de Alba. Etnología Guajira [Guajiro Ethnology], 49-50.

[77] The quotations which we have cited lead us to the belief by the Guajiro in an all-powerful god, unique and universal. This

[143 cont.]

seems to be true, in a certain way, for those who are imbued with Christian religious practices, because when they refer to our God, to Jesus Christ, they call him Mareiwa. But at the bottom of their minds, in our opinion, there is some distinction which is precisely what we shall try to explain.

When we spoke of the shaman, we referred extensively to his protector spirits, the real healers of sickness, of whom the shaman is no more than an intermediary. Naturally, we also spoke, in that chapter and in the one relating to sickness, of the evil spirits, the malignant ones, the cause of the trouble, known by the generic name of wanurú, and we explained how the first are, in general, the spirits of dead shamans who have disappeared but continue to exercise their functions for the benefit of the community, while the wanurú are also spirits of dead people who satisfy their personal vengeances, revenge themselves for disrespect shown them in their status after death, or are simply dangerous because of the circumstances of their death, as in the case of suicides. [144]

In addition to the spirits of sickness and death, there is another named yo-ru-jú, difficult to describe and whose functions are difficult to delineate. We only know that he is magnificently malevolent and that it is he, the complete opposite of Mareiwa (God) that has been named "demon" or "devil" by missionaries, writers, etc.

Regarding the previous statement, we have several quotations that confirm it: "Yoluhá is the demon in the simple Guajiro theogony. As with god, it is scarcely a concept, a word that represents the forces of destruction and, at the same time, of power, since it is even used by the shaman when he is foretelling the future. "What does the devil say (Jamúseneik Yolujú)?" is the question the diviner asks. The Guajiro demon is hot, therefore, like the Christian devil, the opposite of God, because in addition to wickedness and destruction it also embraces the concept of power and divination." (75)

75. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 50.

[144 cont.]

"It seems that for the Guajiro there may exist two devils, one called Yaruji or Yolugi and the other the Guanurú. The Yaruji, or devil properly speaking, is the most evil that exists and the most frightful. He is always evil and exercises his actions on man, on humanity, but he acts mainly not through himself but through another and minor devil, which is Guanurú.

"The Guanurú is more involved in worldly affairs; he is the enemy of the body as well as the soul. He is charged with producing sicknesses in people, in animals, even in plants. The Guanurú is also a spirit." (76)

76. Barranquilla. Op. cit., II, 67.

As we see the confusion is great, and it is not all due to the writings of the authors above quoted but also to the natives themselves, as we shall see below.

What may be deduced at present is the establishment of two categories of spirits, one for those of good, the other for those of evil, categories based on their greater or lesser capacity to exercise benign or malignant influences respectively. But if we examine a little more carefully the series of facts observed by us in our journey in 1947, we are able to note some further differences which will enable us to explain somewhat better the problem that appertains to the ideas of good and evil in the native's mind. These differences arise from the presence of beings which have characters, which are disposed to exercise good or evil on the individual or on the community in general, that is, benign or evil spirits that personify [145] good and evil and that preside over actions socially acceptable or reprehensible.

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Mareiwa. In our opinion, Mareiwa is above all the propitiatory spirit of the rains. This statement is based on the following facts:

1. The Dance of the Kid, as we saw in the previous chapter, is dedicated to him and takes place when the summer rains appear.

[165 cont.]

776 778 2. According to data collected in the field among the people, the son of God (Mareiwa) exists. He was born from the union of the waves and the clouds in a place called Puldwi, in certain "sacred" lakes where human beings may not go, situated in the Sierra Nevada, where there are a number of both fresh- and salt-water lakes surrounded by medicinal plants. Mareiwa on occasion descends to these places, and it is at these times [84] that heavy rainfall occurs in La Guajira, that is, during the seasons which in the peninsula are called autumn, spring, and winter. Then all the vegetation sprouts, and all the trees, pasture, and plants are green.

3. Another legend states that Mareiwa was born of a woman who became pregnant when, being in her monthly period, she was greatly frightened by the spectacle of a tremendous storm. Without having sexual relations with any mortal, she afterward gave birth in the same way as other women.

4. Guajiro legends relating to Mareiwa also assert that he was born under an olive tree (77) in some place in La Guajira.

[132]

77. The olive tree we refer to in these paragraphs is not the same as that of temperate zones but is an autochthonous tree, whose similarity to the former justifies its name.

The importance of this legend stems from the peculiar character of the tree, which is the only one belonging to the Guajiro flora that escapes the effects of long summers and is always fresh and green, keeping its leaves and bearing fruit throughout the year.

778 777 821 5. In his propitiation of the rains when summer lasts too long, the shaman invokes his protector spirits, spirits of good, and especially Pumayule, the name by which curers [curanderos] know Mareiwa.

776 821 6. In the work and paragraphs already quoted from the work of Professor Hernández de Alba, we find a new relation between Mareiwa and rain; he says: "Mareigua. Everything that is good for the Guajiro: rain, abundance... and He saved

[145] the people during the deluge on the high hill of Purun, which he made to grow higher as the waters rose." (78)

78. Hernández de Alba. Op. cit., 49-50.

1. When we spoke of natural phenomena in magic, we stated that a kind of veneration was very commonly paid by the natives to an iguana that lives in the crevices of rocks, especially in the cliffs of the coast; veneration that is manifested outwardly by fiestas and dances and is intended to influence the iguana not to put obstacles in the way of the rain, which are under his dominion. Up to this point the fact appears to have no connection with the subject which we are treating, but supported by linguistics, we shall clarify our point of view:

The Guajiro word for iguana is iwána, and it can be split up thus: iwa, "rain" (this is what the Indians call the rain that falls in summer, April); na, particle which seems to denote an abundance of something, as may be seen in these other examples: iga-na-rú, a La Guajira place name which means "among many rocks" and corresponds in context to: a conical depression that holds rain water situated among many rocks; garrapatamana, another place name descriptive of its meaning, "a place where there are many animal ticks [garrapatas]. According to the above, iwána means an "abundance of rain."

Now, the word by which the constellation of the Seven Kids is called when in a certain position it coincides with the summer rain, is iwa, the same as "rain." Furthermore, from the name "Mareiwa" we can separate the constant particle, iwa, "rain." Unfortunately, we could discover nothing that might correspond to the first particle, máre, in the vocabulary we collected, nor in others that have been published and which we had the opportunity to consult. But, on reviewing a dictionary of the Arawak language of the Guianas, with which the Guajiro dialect is closely linked, we find that mali is the name of a "certain star"; malidaite is "beginning of drought." "The name is derived from the star mali." (79)

79. Anonymous. Op. cit., 71.

[146 cont.]

If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately connected both by their language and culture, there is nothing strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language), and Sea, words that are used to name rain and in consequence must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case, the linguistic association of rain-rain-god-divinity confirms the statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token, that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of protector spirits of the community. Also, the changes brought about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable confusion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might almost say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with western civilization has created difficulties which by now are practically insurmountable.

Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have acquired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritually, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

[147 cont.]
775 and plants either individually, or collectively with the appearance of epidemics; spiritually by inspiring reprehensible actions such as murder, which brings social misfortunes in its wake. In general, all the transgressions of the Guajiro social law — rage, suicide, infidelity, etc. — are inspired by this spirit.

2. They have permanent sites of habitation, especially in unoccupied houses.

3. They are grouped into special categories dependent on the circumstances of their death, which influences their manner of life in the next world.

4. They make their appearance by adopting special
• [776] bodies, that is, they make themselves visible. In this they differ fundamentally from the spirits of good, like Maraiwa, who manifests himself in no bodily form. In this connection
775 [148] we have the following native belief: If during the night
825 or in the late hours of the afternoon, a sizeable, nocturnal white moth is found in the bedroom, it must not be mistreated or killed. It must be treated with consideration because it is nothing but the spirit of some ancestor — wanurú — who has come on a visit. If it becomes very troublesome and keeps one awake by its fluttering, it must be got out of the room very carefully.
[777] If it should be killed, the spirit of the dead incarnated in it would appear in dreams and exclaim: "Why did you kill me? I like you and for that reason I came to visit your home. You have done me harm." And most certainly the spirit would take vengeance in some bad way or another on the person who had violated the rules of hospitality due the spirits of the dead.

775 Yorujá. The concept of Yorujá is more difficult to clarify. He seems to be the same as the wanurú for the following reasons:

1. The natives when they refer to him give one to understand that he is the spirit of the dead.

2. As with the wanurú, he has his sites of fixed habitation, especially in cemeteries, in the crevices of Cabo de la Vela, or hidden in the boughs of trees in the lonely woods of Emejuy in Lower La Guajira.

[753] 3. Also, as with the wanurú, he is the cause of both physical and spiritual harm to the natives and to the community in general.

2: Pineda Giraldo--189 E-8 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

[148 cont.]

4. Also like the wanurú, he takes on special forms of dress, such as that of a "king," an arijuna (civilizado), and an Indian. At times flames leap from his eyes and mouth (possibly acculturation from Catholic legends about the devil).

5. There are other beliefs that refer to him, such as the one that states that when during the night a woman should find a praying mantis [mantis religiosa] she should hurriedly throw some cotton seeds and salt on the fire in order that with the flame produced when these catch fire, the malignant spirit, or yorujú, who brings the mantis with him will be frightened away. There is a similarity in this belief to the one that prescribes placing horses' skulls around to frighten the wanurú away from the vicinity of habitations.

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In summary we would say that the spirits of good are represented by Mareiwa and by a series of other protector spirits, especially those of shamans, which are no other than those of dead curers. Their standing or status depends on that which they had in life, the greater their prestige as curers in this world, [149] the more important will be their position in the next as benevolent spirits. The spirits of evil are represented by dead persons and are of different degrees of danger according to the characteristics of their death. It is presumable that those called yorujú, resembling the devil, the greatest incarnation of evil as an abstract idea, are spirits of the dead of a greater degree of wickedness, while the wanurú, connected almost exclusively with sickness, are spirits of dead persons of a lesser degree of evil.

Finally, the differences between the two categories of spirits — benevolent and malevolent — are of two classes: 1) of a quantitive character, according to their power to do good or evil respectively; 2) of a formal character, referring to the apparition of evil spirits in various bodily forms, and the absence of such forms for good spirits. [151] [Page 150 is blank.]

[152 cont.]

177 233 789 community, especially in cases of illness and pestilences, as can be seen in the section "Shamanistic treatment of animals" in Chapter II. If, on one hand, stock grazing partly changed some of the social system related to magic, on the other hand, at the same time it has also felt the influence of this institution to the point of acquiring its own characteristics which differentiate it from other systems of stock grazing, which follow, in general, the lines laid down by the Spanish colonists. Magic is sui generis and plays its part today, as the oldest institution can, in Guajiro culture.

789 Moreover, not only in the collective sense but in the individual, the action of magic on the economy shows itself very clearly in the charm [contra] to make oneself rich, which we have described in detail in Chapter VI and which, as is logical within the Guajiro social dynamic, is connected to such important social matters as status, as we shall see later.

776 In the chapter which we have called "Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira," we may also see the effectiveness of magic in the private economy, since the owner of a piece of cultivated land is the one who organizes at his own expense the dance and fiesta given to attract the blessing of the good spirits, of Mareiwa on the crops, which require sufficient rain and certain climatic conditions to ripen. So great is their confidence that they believe that the more solemn the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, the more benefit will be received from the spirits they invoke and fete, and the greater the probability of success for the harvest.

182 619 789 2. Society. Guajiro society, as we have said, has transferred a great part of the responsibility for its survival and stability to magic and has a tranquil confidence in it, convinced of its effectiveness and holding firmly to an institutional determinism which only now is beginning to break down fundamentally. The cultural institution of magic represents to the individual Guajiro a system of life, thought, and belief which unites him to his group as much as does the consanguineous tie and the established clan system. Magic is the general and generalized institution, essentially independent of the characteristic social divisions

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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before, when the casimba had dried up and the cattle had roamed round the troughs bellowing till they collapsed and died. The horses, on the other hand, had given up the ghost without complaint.

The water was already turgid; before long it would be as thick as gruel. The water we had been given by the bishop was now finished, and we had to boil the water from the casimba, which had a beastly taste and did not quench our thirst because of the salt in it. The best water is that near the coast.

The cattle and horses were thin, but the men at the well looked strong and well-nourished, as did the women. But how would they look by the time October came with its rain? It was then only July. And suppose no rain came? Or only a few showers? That had happened before. The threat of it always hung over the Indians. If the rain god Juvap turned his face from them, they were lost. There were still patches of grass here and there, but it was dry and scorched. If need be the cattle could make do with cactus, despite the long spikes that could pierce a stout leather shoe with ease. Very, very carefully the cow lets one of the oval leaves slide into her mouth, almost sucking it in, so that the spikes are bent backwards; she then starts chewing as hard as she can. Often cows have more cactus stuck in their hides than they get inside them. Horses and mules, on the other hand, apparently do not like cactus and will not do more than nibble at it. It is too slow a business to eat it. The goats seemed able to find something to eat everywhere, and are themselves eaten sooner or later. Cattle are not often slaughtered, but goat is the daily fare. Live goats are also taken as provisions on journeys, being easily led on a rope.

We had halted only in order to let the animals drink and for the Indians to fill their water containers. The Gaffer needed a lot of water now—his thirst was unbounded—but the calabashes were in his wife's charge and she only allowed him an occasional gulp. Also he was having to walk, for she was tired and had mounted the donkey again. The Lad tried to enliven the company by imitating the donkeys when they

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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In another game the dangerous spirit Yoruyá attacks and kills Indian after Indian till he is set upon by them all and killed; in yet another the Indians hide in a cloud made of cloaks, when the spirit forces its way in, but it is captured by the cloud and vanquished.

Horse-racing is one of the Indians' greatest pleasures at their festivities, but they also indulge in it—without horses—as a game in connection with the dances. Very amusing and picturesque is a game in which they imitate hunting a kind of bird that plunders the seed in their fields. The Indians pretend to be trying to scare them and catch them in nets. Here the seed is represented by some children, some of the men are the birds, others the hunters who catch the birds in their hammocks and then wring their necks!

Another game represents a fight between jaguars and dogs. The strongest of the men are made the jaguars, for these have to win. Then there is a snake game in which men and women crawl along together, imitating the movements of a snake and singing the snake song: 'I am the snake. I creep along the ground. I do harm to none, but punish those who try to trample me. Long must he suffer, who tramps upon me because he thinks me defenceless since I creep on the ground. He must suffer and die.' There are endless variations; but a dance lasts so long that a little variety is necessary.

Once the upper-class dance, the chichamaya, was over, Mauana's people gladly showed us all their games and dances even though it was not the right time of year.

As we were riding home the next day we encountered several companies of Indians returning from a burial-feast. Among them was a young man in a beautifully woven mantle, who joined up with us. He spoke good Spanish and obviously belonged to the upper class. Francisco told him about us, and he was eager that we should be his guests that same day, since his rancho lay on our route. He said that he had a few things that I might well find interesting and he himself would like to see one of my pistols. (Francisco had evidently described how they smoked and made a bang.) Some of the Indians accompanying us now became

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The skulls of
horses are placed round dwelling-places to repulse spirits, which are held to be very afraid of horses, whether alive or dead. When a caravan travels by night, the men with horses are in the lead, and the spirits flee at once. Once long ago the Indians themselves had an almost superstitious dread of horses; that was when for the first time they saw them used by their white conquerors.

It was said that some piaches had in their possession gold statuettes inherited from the 'ancients'. If that was so, they were presumably pre-Columbian objects found in some grave or kept for centuries by some succession of medicine men.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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several days afterwards, but have to be fed. They also have to keep to a diet for a while, a precaution that, like the cloaks they are wrapped in while digging up the bones, is to protect them against spirits.

In the old days the house in which a person died was abandoned. Nowadays that is only done if the person has been murdered.

I have come across this after-funeral among several Indian tribes farther south, in particular the Motilon in the Andes, neighbours of the Guajiro, and the Indians of the Llanos plains around the Orinoco. It seems a peculiar custom to us, but it is a sort of memorial ceremony, a feast of remembrance devoted to the dead person, who is thus not forgotten so quickly by the Indians, as is often the case with us.

The animals killed at a man's funeral are to accompany him into the hereafter and enable him to maintain his position there. His immediate relatives must not eat of this meat, which is all given to the guests, who cook it and feast on it.

Different in character is the sacrifice of some creature, a black sheep or a brown cow, which the piache recommends when he has dreamed that someone is in danger of being murdered. Here the animal is being killed in place of the threatened man, the goat or cow acting as substitute so that the human can escape his fate. Presumably, what used to happen was that the person threatened had to go out and kill some wild animal, a deer for example. The custom of slaughtering cattle at a funeral originates from the change in the Indians' way of life that resulted from their making cattle-rearing their main occupation. Earlier the dead person was given other grave-goods to enable him to manage in the life hereafter, including ornaments and that sort of thing. In the pre-Columbian era quantities of polished stone beads and tuma were placed in the graves. Then, when fortunes began to be reckoned in cattle and horses, it was obvious that the dead person must have cattle to accompany him. To the Guajiro, as to the general run of Indians, there is no such thing as natural death. Were it not for the dangerous world of the spirits and evil enchanters people

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761 would be able to live to all intents and purposes for ever.
776 The Guajiro word for illness, *wanuru*, is the same as that for the spirit of death, and actually means 'he within us'. As so often happens, they make no distinction between the spirits of the dead and other spirits.

775 The spirits of suicides are especially feared. As a safety measure the rope and tree used are burned, since death still
762 clings to them and is infectious. Round the scene of the suicide the dead man's ghost wanders head down, sometimes pursuing passers-by in the shape of a flame. Everybody avoids such places. It sometimes happens that Indians, both children and grown-ups, say that they have met dead relatives in human guise, but dumb. Such encounters bring misfortune. If a Guajiro Indian moves outside the peninsula, he will after death rest on the burial place of his fathers. After death he has a long journey ahead of him, and if he is to reach the realm of the dead he ought to start out from the burial place of his own people. Besides, and this perhaps is the most important point of all, the ritual prescribed in Guajira has to be observed.

775 The spirit of a murdered person follows his slayer every-
682 where and attacks him if he falls ill or becomes weak, appearing in the hallucinations of fever. Its presence also constitutes a danger to the murderer's children. It can also appear in the form of a flame or of an animal, for example a bird. As I have already said, the house in which someone has been murdered is abandoned immediately, for the angry spirit of the dead man can appear there at any time.

To protect himself the slayer must submit to severe restrictions, which are prescribed by his maternal aunts and the elder women and which he follows in his own interest. He hides in the wilds, has nothing but maize gruel and water. He ought not to speak or have anything to do with anyone, and must be ever ready with weapons in his hand. An enemy may appear. The slayer cuts off his hair, wears a very short black cloak and must sleep on the ground with his face downwards and hidden, never on his back, otherwise the spirit of the man he killed could sit on his chest. It is best if he can sleep little and seldom, and have a dog with

7:Bólinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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that prevents his own from being shed—and after this a chichamaya dance is arranged.

It is not only through dreams that future events can be foretold. There are special sooth-sayers: we have already mentioned the outschi, who deal in prophecy without being piaches. Many real piaches also deal in prognostication, but that is not really their province. The Indians believe in the piache, more than in the ordinary sooth-sayer. 'The piache is always right', they say.

In divination the sooth-sayer also uses a firebrand that he swings through the air, or a lighted cigarette or, sometimes, a knife-edge along which he stares. Whatever the method, the sooth-sayer's spirit has to free itself and go roaming. Let us say that he is to track down a stolen cow. The freed spirit follows its path till it finds it and can say whither it has been taken. As I said, a piache will not treat a patient if he is sure that he is incurable. He often finds out about this by using a firebrand. If it goes out, there is no hope. Sooth-sayers most carefully study the different shapes assumed by the coals, which, to the initiated, are significant.

As with us, there are many amateurs, especially elder women, who try to foretell the future or discover what others are about. Suppose such a woman wants to know where her husband, who is on a journey, is and how he is faring. She takes a cigar of the primitive kind they use there, lights it and pronounces an incantation, asking to be shown what she wishes to know. If the ash turns black, her husband has fallen seriously ill, if the red part splutters it means that he will get gold, that is money. Other signs will reveal that he has associated with some other woman. That can involve the husband in considerable trouble when he returns.

Medicine men have a number of guardian or assistant spirits who advise them, but who also require remuneration for their services. They also warn the medicine men against enemies. Every piache has seven or eight such spirits, each of which is invoked with a special song. The rain demon, Mareiwa, is called in song under the name Fumayule, while

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the demon of illness and death, Wanuru, is called Jirarai Wanuru is the name of all the spirits of the dead which are many, thus we are obviously dealing here with groups of spirits; and where Wanuru acts as guardian or assistant spirits, they no doubt represent the souls of dead medicine men.

One piache, known as a clever rain-maker, told us that when he needed advice over rain-making, he used to go to the burial place to talk with his dead brother's spirit, the brother having been cleverer at it than he. When a piache has to make rain, he seats himself on his stool as for other functions, chews tobacco, shakes his maraca and rhythmically moves his torso and head. He then begins to sing in a high voice, calling upon the spirits and demanding that they bring rain, for people need it, if they are not to die of hunger. Now and again he emerges and dances round the huts, driving away the spirits that are preventing the rain from coming.

The Indians often first try to make rain without the piache's help, by drumming at night or by firing guns and arrows at the clouds. The drumming imitates thunder and can thus, according to the laws of magic, cause storms. The shooting drives away the spirits that are preventing the cloud from dispensing its rain. This is also what they do at eclipses of the sun, when all burst into tears and shoot at the sky to drive away the evil spirit that is preventing the sun from shining. A piache's own spirit does not interfere in his magic-making, for which he uses none but auxiliary spirits. It is not till after his death that a piache's spirit can become active and help some other piache.

The piache has to submit to certain restrictions on diet and love-life. He or she must never have extra-marital intercourse and even marital intercourse must be restricted. A female piache must never spend the night with her husband, but merely pay him fleeting visits that should be as short as possible; she must never allow herself to be caressed by him, and must lie quite still and indifferent during coition. If this is not done, her guardian spirit will be jealous and angry, and may cause trouble. And, preferably, she

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
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273 method the maize is finely pulverized by hammering on a flat stone, instead of being masticated. Beer is drunk in large quantities, as is rum received by trade.

276 Both sexes commonly smoke long narrow cigarettes, which the women make of bundles of 8 or 10 leaves. Formerly, at least in the western portion of the country, the *Goajiro* chewed coca (hayo) with lime, which stained their teeth black. Coca is still grown, but there is no mention of this custom in recent times.

RELIGION

776 *Goajiro* religion is imperfectly known. Mareigua (Maleiwa) seems to have been the Creator and Culture Hero. He caused the first *Goajiro* to emerge from the ground and taught the tribe how to produce fire with a drill. He saved them during the flood by raising the Cerro Pororo where they had taken refuge and by driving the jaguars away. As a Supreme Being he shows some moral preoccupation, in the past having punished those who lived in incest. He sends rain and all the good things which the *Goajiro* expect from nature (Hernández de Alba, 1936, p. 44).

Yoluha (Yorja) has been thought to signify the god of thunder, lightning, and drought, but the term probably does not designate a single deity but bad spirits or ghosts in general. These are feared at night when 776 the sky is clouded; to prevent their inroads the *Goajiro* stretch a thin cord 789 between two poles reaching above the roof. They attach to this cord, at regular intervals, fishhooks which serve to entangle the Yoluha and make their stay unpleasant. Sometimes when sounds coming from the bush are thought to have been made by spirits, the Indians light embers and throw stones at them.

787 The *Goajiro* give considerable importance to dreams. A dream may 438 cause the desertion of a camp, a war, or a consultation with a shaman. The *Goajiro* carry charms which they buy from shamans.

SHAMANISM

756 *Goajiro* shamans (piache) are of both sexes. Aside from their long hair shamans differ little in external appearance from ordinary persons, but their power is reputed to be considerable and people avoid offending them. They are said to cause the heart of a person to stop beating unless they are paid enough.

A shaman keeps his cures secret and divulges them only to a successor, who undergoes a long period of training and who pays his instructor a certain number of cattle. When the training is complete, there is a public initiation with dancing and drinking, at which the novice is seized by fits as demonstration of his new power. The instructor chants spells

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171 231 422 around the world simultaneously with the domestic animals themselves.

614 212 231 422 177 614 212 773 The branding described was probably learned by the Indians from the Spaniards themselves, simultaneously with the adoption of the first European domestic animals, and has been retained since then. It is all the more surprising that the branding iron (hierro) appears in an old myth which for its part clearly states where the customary individual clan-signs came from. The following version (according to V. Gutiérrez, p. 168) is common in the northern part of the peninsula:

Not far from Nazareth (10) a hill rises behind Itojoro.

[797] [131] 10. This post lies only several kilometers south of Puerto Estrella and is actually a small Catholic mission station. Cf. Stutzer, pp. 131 ff., and Barranquilla, pp. 151 ff.

Here, under an oil tree, Mareiwa (11) came into the world.

● 776 114 11. That is the spelling of this mythological name that I felt to be correct, as did V. Gutiérrez (p. 168). Chaves (1946, p. 307) explains in the myth concerning "Las Serranías de la Guajira," among other things: "Mareigua [is] one of the principal deities of the Guajiro people, who with his supernatural power converts persons into hills, separates the

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sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1953, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. Jahn (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified /Maleiwa/ with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Maréigua = God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

614 812 773 He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian child. He ate tuuma (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.

[262]

12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north. The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god. [824 821] Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does